

THE  
CONSPIRATORS,  
OR, THE  
CAUSE  
OF  
CATILINE.

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PART II.

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By the Author of the First Part.

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THE SECOND EDITION.

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*This Rome, that once was us'd to conquer Others,  
Has made a shameful Conquest of Herself!*

*Jusque datum Sceleri canimus, - - - - Lucan:*

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L O N D O N:

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# CONSPIRACY

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# САДІЛІКТЕ

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*The Author of the Hug-Pup*

## Банковский акт

The Home, which was in a condition of  
utter neglect, and a complete change of life.

Indicating the number of students in each class.

W O C W O J

Planning for the Hostels at the Queen's University

1857 Quadriceps N. mi curdo

• Buller's Oriole

ders, before his Departure, upon a certain Night to set the City on Fire, to tear up all the Aqueducts, that no Water might be found to quench it, and in the Hurry to cut the Throats of every *Roman*, who in the late Examination would not be brib'd to their Party.

B U T these his horrid Intents, by the Vigilance of *CICERO*, were prevented ; and noble *PETREIUS*, whom we have already describ'd, going forth with a Body of brave and honest *Romans*, fell upon *CATILINE*, and his Mercenaries, and attack'd them so vigorously, that most of them were left dead on the Spot. When the Body of *CATILINE* was found, as *SALUST* observes, his dead Looks retain'd the Fierceness of him when living, and the Terrors of his Face still express'd an Image of his unnatural Mind : --- *Repertus est, paululum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in vultu retinens.*

F I N I S.



gates people his Despotic Empire upon Acces-  
to set the City on fire to set the Advers-  
ities past no Master might be found to defend  
it, save in the Hand of the Prince of every  
Kingdom who in the late Invasion many lost  
their life or limb.

BUT since his power increases by the Vic-  
tory of CICERO more increased; and so  
the EXTRAVAGANT world we have already de-  
scribed going forth with a Body of brave and  
bold Roman soldiers than CARTHAGE and the Mc-  
cessories and success of whom to vigorously this  
flow of blood were left dead on the spot. When  
the Body of CARTHAGE was found as it  
was at first, his good Troops returning the  
victor to him when living and the victory of  
this battle will excuse us to this moment  
Kings; --- Redemptions of captives and  
sovereignty of the earth.





# PREFACE.

**I**T is a remarkable Observation of MENANDER, the Comic Poet, that the \* Suspicion of having done any thing, raises a greater Clamour upon a Man than the very doing it : and so likewise the Suspicion of any Pamphlet's being intended a Libel throws more Scandal on the Person, at whom it is suppos'd to be levell'd, than the most open and declar'd Invective ever did: Such, in both Cases, is the Injustice of Calumny !

WHAT gave me a Ground for this Reflection, is, that there are Persons, it seems, in the World, who are for turning every thing into a Libel. I will be bold

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\* Τὸν δικῆν, διαβολὴν ἐξ μεῖζον τῷ νοστίῳ.  
Menand. ex Stobæo.

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to say, that a Malicious Calumny cannot hurt a Great Man; (tho' it may reflect Disgrace upon the Author,) nay, on the contrary, it often does him a Service. For Men are apt to *pity* him whom they see *injur'd*; and when they perceive a Great Man has been *wrong'd* in *one* Thing, it happens that they will not believe even the *Truths*, that are spoken *against* him. But wicked Men, indeed, have reason to *apprehend* Truth, and therefore it is no Wonder that they *prosecute* it.

JULIUS Cæsar, who was the most merciful, and generous of all the Romans, never punish'd any thing that was said *against* him: and the Wise AUGUSTUS follow'd his Example in this Particular. He fear'd no invidious Enquiry into his Actions; but allow'd the Populace such a Liberty of descanting on him, that he never punish'd any Libels against his Person: and if we may credit Suetonius on this Head, he did not only not dread them, but took great Pains to answer and refute them: *nec expavit, & magnâ curâ redarguit* \*

\* Sueton. in Vita Augusti Cæsaris.

THIS

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THIS he did by the honest Advice of his First Minister *Mecenas*, who gave it as his Opinion, that Calumnies never hurt a good Prince, whose Virtues can stand the Test, and are Proof against them; but are only dangerous to wicked Governors. And *Augustus* himself was often heard to say, that the *Wickedness* of the Times *requir'd*, and *deserv'd* a *Freedom* and *Boldness* of Speech. Nor did he find this Practice of any small Advantage to him; for by it he discover'd both the *Affections*, and *Grievances* of his People: The latter of which, had *Mecenas* been a corrupt Minister, he would have endeavour'd to have kept from his Knowledge; and of Consequence, would have advis'd him to *suppress* and *punish* every thing that was written upon the Tines as *Libels*.

*TIBERIUS*, who succeeded him, and was a Prince of another Stamp, took a contrary Method in this as well as every other Respect. To his Eternal Infamy it is recorded, that he forc'd *M. Æmilius Scaurus* to kill himself only for having written the Tragedy of *Atreus*; in which he advis'd the People, who liv'd under the Government of a bad Prince, to be patient, and submit to Tyranny. The Emperor

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would have it that the Poet struck at *him* in the Character of *Atreus*, knowing he had committed many Murthers and illegal Outrages: and therefore, with a Mixture of Wit and Malice, he said, *He would make an Ajax of Scaurus, by forcing him to kill himself* ||,

UNDER so vile a Government as this of *Tiberius*, a Man must be mad that would venture to write upon the Times; when every Truth must be Treason. In such an Administration, the most distant Shadow of a Reflection glares in their Eyes, and they are extremely witty and malicious at making Applications. The same flagitious Prince (for his Reign furnishes many Instances of extravagant Tyranny) put a poor Fellow to Death barely for a Jeast; but it was one that carried both Truth and Satyr in it. *Augustus* had by his last Will bequeathed a Legacy to every *Roman* Citizen, which *Tiberius* took no care to see discharg'd. As a great Funeral pass'd one day thro' the Streets, a certain Man with much Bustle and Difficulty prest thro' the Croud, and whisper'd something in the Dead Man's Ear. The People flock'd about to know the Mean-

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Dion Cassius in Tiberio.

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ing of this Whim, and enquir'd into the Contents of the Whisper ; when the Person told them, that he had desir'd the Dead Man to inform *Augustus*, that the *Romans* had not yet receiv'd their Legacies. The Informers soon carried this Story to *Tiberius*, who sent for the Man, paid him down his Legacy, and caus'd his Throat to be cut, telling him, *That he might now go himself, and inform Augustus, that One was paid* †.

THE Freedom of the poor Fellow's Raillery may, perhaps, be stil'd by ill-natur'd People a sufficient Provocation for the Emperor's Barbarity ; but all the Actions of this Prince were of a Piece : His was a Reign of Rapine and Blood ; and therefore we are the leſt to wonder at this Cruelty. His Fury extended to all sorts of *Wit* and *Learning* ; he found in every Writing some Pretence, or other, for punishing its Authors : He caus'd One Poet to be thrown into Prison, because in his Tragedy of *Agamemnon*, he had not represented that Prince great enough, and that Failure in Character was a Reflection upon *all other Princes*. **CREMUTIUS CORDUS, the Historian, was accus'd in his Reign,**

† Idem & Sueton. in Vita Tiberii.

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for praising *Brutus*, and saying that *Cassius* was the last of the *Romans*: for the vile Sycophants and Flatterers of the Court drew this Inference from the Expression, that if *Cassius* were the last of the *Romans*, *TIBERIUS* could be no *Roman*, and consequently no *Emperor of Rome*. Here was *Læse Majestatis Crimen* implied, a Traitorous Intention of deposing *Tiberius*; the Author's *Annals* were censur'd as a factious, dangerous, and treasonable *Libel*, and the Author himself, a seditious Man, in upbraiding the present Times by commanding the Times past. *Et hoc non solum Tiberius, sed etiam Cremutius Cordus* was clap'd up into close Confinement, and restrain'd from every thing that could contribute to make a Prison easy. He had all the Rigour shewn him, which, as *Suetonius* tells us, that Emperor practis'd against State-Delinquents: *Quibus custodie traditis, non modo Studendi solarium attemptum, sed etiam Sermonis Et Colloqui Ussus*; when they were thrown into Prison, they were not only deny'd the Conversation of Friends, but the Use of Pen and Ink, the Means and Comfort of Study. Thus it has ever been in wicked and Tyrannical Governments; and all that we can say for it is, in the Words

## The P R E A C E T

Words of our homely *English Proverb*, *The Gall'd Horse will Wince.*

THESE rigorous Expositions call to my Mind a shrewd Observation of BEN. JOHNSON's in his Play of *Sejanus*.

*It is an Argument the Times are sore,  
When Virtue cannot safely be advanc'd,  
Nor Vice reprov'd. ——*

WHERE extravagant and invidious Comments will pass for Conviction, there is nothing that was ever written, or spoken, but may be wrested to a *Libel*. There are a Set of Men who infest the Law, and swarm about wicked Governors with the busy *Impertinence* of *Informations*; These are very ready to scent out Precedents against any Man, who falls under the Spleen of Power, expecting that way to push for Preferment; and where neither Law or Precedent is to be found, they labour with *Rounds*, and *Doubles*, and *Innuendo's*, to scru an innocent Man into the Snare.

THE Orators of this Kind, are much like the hungry *Wolf*, that was under a Vow of Abstinence from all manner of *Flesh*: but seeing a fat *Hog*, that wallowed

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## The PREFACE

ed happily in the Mire, his Stomach began to be too powerful for his Conscience, and he thus palliated the Matter to himself; I have read, says He, in some Author, either Ancient or Modern, I can not remember which, that Porcus is Latin for a certain Fish; and therefore tho' I cannot eat him as a Hog, I may make a good Dinner on him as a Fish, and never break my Vow of Abstinence.

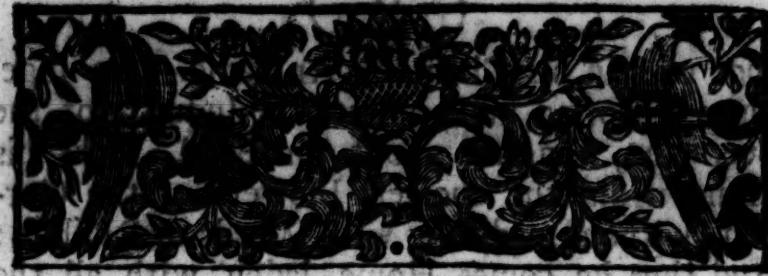
WITH much such Ingenuity of Reasoning as This, are *innocent Men* worried by the *Wolves* of the *Law*, where evil Men preside. But to the Honour of our ENGLISH Annals let it be remembred, that we have no such ridiculous Examples of the Rage of Power. The Generosity of English Spirits gives Indulgence to Truth, even when unpleasing: We think, as the Great ISOCRATES did, that *They who dare to utter Truth, ought to be of greater Authority with all Princes, than They who say Every thing to curry Favour, and yet say Nothing worthy of that Favour.* \*

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\* Περούκαι υπερ παραγγελίαν τοις μερισμοῖς πάτερ οὐρανοῖς τὸν τὴν αἰθέρα αποκαυπίνεις, τῷν ἀνανταὶ μηδέ τοις κατειν, παύεις δὲ τὸν χαῖρον τελετῆν.

Isocr. in Epistola ad Philippum.

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THE  
**CONSPIRATORS;**  
OR, THE  
**CASE OF CATILINE, &c.**

**P A R T II.**

**INTRODUCTION.**



E, that writes upon the History of the Antients, can, perhaps, be look'd upon as no more than a Collector of other Men's Works; and therefore can expect but little Reputation from the Nature of his Performance: But then there is a Judgment requisite to distinguish the profitable from the useless, and giying such Examples as may instruct as well as delight the Readers: And here the Author

thor puts in his Claim for Applause. An ingenious Historian must imitate the Industry of the Bee, who, ranging about for Food, sucks his Honey from the choicest Flowers of the Garden, without meddling with Weeds or Rubbish: And thus he comes Home laden with all the Sweetness of the Season, and discharges his little Burthen for the common Use of his Fellow-Citizens of the Hive. A curious Historian, in the like manner, by collecting the Flowers of all Authors that have wrote before him, and by disposing them into Method and Order, may form a Piece more grateful and useful to Mankind, than reading the prolix Passages, from which they are drawn, at Length in their Originals could possibly be.

I COULD be well enough pleas'd to descant on the Usefulness of Historical Treatises in General, but that the Theme has been very well handled already. I shall content my self therefore with observing, that when the Pen is employ'd on Actions *remote* in Time, both the Author and his Readers have this Advantage, that they are at once divested both of *Favour* and *Prejudice*. To speak for my self, I account this a very peculiar Privilege: I don't know whether I am to compliment my own good Nature and candid Disposition; but I am sure were I to write of *modern* Facts, especially where the Persons of my *Contemporaries* are concern'd, I find it in my Temper to be so partial, that all my *Arguments* and *Characters* would lean on the Side of *Flattery*.

IT is a Remark of Sir Walter Raleigh's in his applauded History, that it was not uncommendable in *Livy* to speak the best of his own Citizens: And, where they did ill, to say, that without their own great Folly they had done passing well: For all Historians love to extol their own Countrymen, and where a Loss cannot be dissembled, nor the Honour of a Victory taken from the Enemy and given unto blind Fortune, there to lay all the Blame on some strange Misgovernment of their own Forces. In the like manner, were I to write the History and fatal Consequences of the *South-Sea Project*, I have such a Veneration for the fine Spirits and uncorrupted Honesty of my Countrymen, that I should conclude it calculated for the Benefit of the Nation; and, had it not been perverted by some Fools or Knaves in Trust, the Scheme must have done passing well.

† A NOTHER learned Countryman of ours, I remember, says, that judicious Historians generally chuse to give us the Histories of *Commonwealths*, rather than of particular Persons: And, where they give us *Lives*, they are generally of those who have been most *active* in *publick Concerns*. I have so far fallen in with the Sentiments of this Writer, in the Choice of my Subjects, that I have taken Care to treat of Men, in whose Actions the Interests of the Commonwealth have been deeply interwoven. *CATILINE*, 'tis known, was practising the very Subversion

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† Mr. Dodwell in his Invitation to the Reading of an ancient History.

version and Ruin of his Country ; and has left an eternal Reproach on himself and Family, by the detestable Conspiracy in which he was im-  
bark'd.

THERE is another prudential Step, which I have endeavour'd to take, and that is, to treat of a Commonwealth, rather than of Monarchy. I know, as || *SALUST* said in his Oration to *IVLUS CÆSAR*, *Quam difficile, atque asperum factu sit, Consilium dare Regi, aut Imperatori.* Under a Kingly Government, the very Shadow of Direction from a private Man, is construed *Insolence* and *Disaffection*.

AND yet it must be confess'd, that a disinterested Subject is often capable of giving his Prince Advice, and his Prince as often stands in Need of it. For, in a Kingly Form of Government, it is so much the *Interest* and *Security* of flattering Statesmen to amuse their Prince with false Shews of Things, to keep him a Stranger to Grumblings and Discontents, and the Sentiments of the Subject on Male-Administration ; that tho' a Country is embarrass'd with *Want* and *Debts* ; its *Credit* sunk, and its *Trade* expiring ; they represent it flourishing in every Branch under his Government ; they call its very *Misfortunes* the *Happiness* and *Blessing* of his *Care* and *Wisdom*, and per-  
suade him the *Prosperity* and *good Fortune* of the Kingdom subsist only under his *auspicious Power* and *Councils*.

THIS

THIS customary Disguise, put on the Face of Affairs in all Governments, brings to my Mind the Fable of the Quack and the Sick Man: A poor Soul was almost at the Point of Death, under a Complication of ill Symptoms, and the Doctor asks him, Pray, Sir, How do you find your self? *Why, truly,* says the Patient, *I have had a violent Sweat upon me.* Oh! the best Sign in the whole World, says the Doctor. And then a little while after, and he is at it again with a --- Well, but how do you find your Body? *Alas,* replies the suffering Patient, *I have just now such a terrible Fit of Horror and Shaking upon me.* --- *Why, this is all as it should be,* says the Physician, *it shews a mighty Strength of Nature.* And then he comes over him a third Time with the same Question again: *Why, I am all swell'd,* says the other, *as if I had the Dropsey.* Best of all, quoth the Doctor, and so he goes his Way. Soon after this comes one of the Sick Man's Friends to him with the same Question, How he felt himself? *Why, truly, so well,* says he, *that I am e'en ready to die of I know not how many good Signs and Tokens.*

IT is just the same Case in Governments: There are *Emperical Statesmen* as well as *Doctors*; that feed Governors with false Representations and Reports of Men, and of Things; they betray their Masters to Dishonour and Ruin, and, as Sir Roger l'Estrange observes, when that find the Vessel sinking, save themselves in the Long-Boat.

EVER Y body knows, and therefore I need not dwell on this Argument, that Princes are flatter'd,

flatter'd, and impos'd on in the Affairs of State, out of private Views in the Persons that represent, or out of private Compliments to Royal Ignorance. Now, as Kings are accustom'd to nothing so much as to their own Praises ; so they are accustom'd to nothing so little as to hear Truth. This makes it, as I above hinted, much more safe for a Writer that lives under a Regal Form of Government, to employ his Pen on what is transacted in a Republick : For, if he offers to advance any bold Maxims, if he should presume to think that *Princes* are accountable for their Time to the People ; or, as *Milton* in his Answer to *Salmasius* coarsely expresses himself, that a *Prince* is but a first Servant of the People ; if he should say, that *Kings* are not rais'd to that Eminence, only to be gaz'd at, bow'd to, or reverenc'd : That, in publick Calamities, they ought to share in the Miseries of their Subjects ; or, as † *PLUTARCH* finely observes, that neglecting the Affairs of the People, and pursuing Pleasures, is a Degree of Tyranny in Princes : If, I fay, he should take this Liberty of moralizing, it would be call'd a Contempt, a Libel on the Dignity of the Crown ; and the Law would, perhaps, be strain'd beyond the Letter, to make the Author sensible of his Insolence. But I cannot help concluding in the Words of a very wise Man, *Desperata ejus Principis Salus est, cuius aures ita formata sunt, ut aspera quo utilia, nec quicquam nisi jucundum accipiat* ; That Prince's Safety is in a desperate Case, whose Ears judge all that is profitable to be too sharp, and will entertain nothing that is harsh and unpleasant.

† In his Comparison betwixt *Sylla* and *Lysander*.

I SHALL take the Liberty of a few more digressive Observations, which however shall serve to open the Way to my Design in the Continuation of these Memoirs.

IT is common for Men, when they suffer in their Interests, to be very loud in Complaints against the suppos'd Causes of their Misfortunes ; they can look on unconcern'd at the Miseries of their Fellow-Citizens, while they themselves are personally unhurt ; and never stir till the Fire is coming to their own Doors : Then, as Horace proverbially reasons,

*Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet,*

WHEN the Flame comes near enough to scorch us, it becomes our own immediate Case, and we begin to be upon the Alarm. I am a Lover of Stories, and give me Leave to tell a pleasant one upon this Subject from the ingenious Sir Roger l'Estrange. A certain Philazer, in the Time of OLIVER, when the Discontents of the People were high against the Set of Rascals who had the Administration then in their Hands, was always praising the Wisdom, the Justice, and Honesty of the Government : But a Design being talk'd of for suppressing the Philazers Office, our obedient Fanatick immediately chang'd his Note, he found out his Patriots to be a Set of the most impious Villains that ever were plac'd at the Head of a Nation, they were Murtherers and Robbers, they had cut off the best of Kings that ever reign'd, they had beheaded the Bishops, pillag'd the People, overturn'd the Church, and what was more

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monstrous and sacrilegious than all the rest, were now labouring to suppress the Philazers !----- This, in general, is the deprav'd Nature of Mankind, we love, we hate, we obey, for Interest: And the Cause must be from a Want of Sense, or a Want of Honesty: And, perhaps, at this Time there may be in the World a most plentiful Lack of both.

MANY among us, who are now murmuring out our Complaints, were once as vehement in the Praises of the Men we take upon us to condemn. I shall not assume the Province of determining which is done with most Reason; for I am resolv'd not to meddle with *domestick Affairs*: I am no Statesman, but an *Historian*. What I am doing is with a good Design, to quiet the Minds of Men, and make them ashaid of their unreasonable Glamours. Nothing in Nature is so contemptible as a Fool; and one of the most signal Marks of a Fool, is Fickleness of Mind. Let those who fancy themselves so injur'd now, examine the Histories of other Nations, and of other Times, and they may chance to find a great Part of their Reflexions upon their Fellow-Citizens to be partial and unjust. To demonstrate this, and with no other View, I have taken the Pains to finish these *MEMOIRS*, and to let Men see that *Villany* is not originally of English Growth, but flourisht beyond the *Alps* many Ages since. Arts and Sciences sometimes die, and seem lost to the World; but after having slept a Revolution of Ages, are discover'd again and reviv'd by some ingenious Spirit: I won't say the same of Recovery, because I'll make no Applications.

TO

TO draw nearer to my Design, the unhappy may find some Comfort in comparing themselves to the more unhappy ; and their Anger, against those who have injur'd them, will lessen, when they perceive others have been more strongly injur'd by more flagrant Villains. For my own Part, I am safe, for *CATILINE* is dead ; and I suppose his Spirit is dead with him. All the *Abettors, Aiders, and Accomplices* of this horrid *Conspiracy* are now no more ; they have long since met the Rewards of all their impious Practises. The *Justice* of the Immortal Gods, which is neither to be *brib'd* by *Gold*, nor *influenc'd* by *Party*, has long since laid hold of these Wretches : An Opinion that I venture to maintain, notwithstanding it is grown so unfashionable, and is so exploded. For there are Men at this Day, with whose Principles *CATO*'s Accusation will suit, that believe *Hell* to be a mere *Fiction*, and that the Souls of the *Good* and the *Wicked* have the same Portion and Allotment after Death. †

BEFORE I enter upon the Remainder of my History, I think it highly to my Purpose to make some Reflexions upon a Maxim of *MACHIAVEL*'s, which has very much the Air and Countenance of a *Paradox*, to wit, that the *Disagreement* of the *People* and the *Senate* of *Rome* made that Commonwealth both *free* and *mighty*. For it is most evident, that the Agreement of the *Senate*, and the *Tribunes* of the *People*, in suf-

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ferring

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† Credo, falsa existimans ea, quæ de inferis memorantur, diverso itinere malos à bonis, loca tætra inculta, fœda, atque formidolosa habere. Sal. in bello Catilinario.

ferring *CATILINE* and his *Accomplices* to escape publick Punishment, was as certainly the *Ruin* of that Commonwealth : So that Concord, in this Case, produc'd Confusion, Ruin, and Disorder.

I KNOW that some Politicians strenuously maintain, that *Rome* was a most disorderly Commonwealth, and disturb'd with so many Seditions, that if their great Virtue and military Discipline had not supply'd other Defects, it would have been inferior to any Republick now in the World. It is not to be denied, indeed, but that Virtue, good Fortune, and military Discipline, were the Causes of the *Roman Grandeur*. These naturally produce each other ; where there is Virtue and good Discipline, there will be Order ; and where there is Order, there is commonly good Fortune. And yet I shall not scruple to maintain, tho' it may startle some Men at first View, that all These proceeded from the *Tumults* and *Civil Broils* that arose in the City of *Rome*.

FOR, if we examine all the *Tumults* that happen'd in *Rome*, from the Death of the *Tarquins* to the Creation of the *Tribunes*, and from thence till the Days of *Marius*, and *Sylla*, and afterwards of our *CATILINE*, we shall find that all these Commotions were occasion'd by some *Incroachments*, which were attempted by the *Government* against the *Liberty* of the People. For it was a long Time before *Gold* had any Influence in *Rome*, to corrupt the *Virtue* of her *Patriots* : Therefore the *Tribunes* of the People, who were the *Guardians* of their Liberties, being Proof against all Temptation, never gave up one Tittle of

of their sacred Rights, which, to their immortal Honour, they kept for so many Ages inviolable.

THE Tribunes thus acting up to the Duty of their Trust, and opposing the most distant Designs of the great Men against the People, were wont to make publick the Transactions of the Senate : The People, by this Means, taking Alarm when they saw their Liberties aim'd at by some new Law, were accustom'd to run tumultuously through the Streets, to shut up their Houses, assemble in Numbers, and so resort in Bodies to the Senate-House, calling out and exclaiming against them : And tho' this Custom may seem extravagant, and a little outragious, yet it produc'd an admirable Effect : For it kept the Great Ones in Awe of the People's Resentments, and hinder'd them from proceeding in any Arbitrary Law.

MACHIAVEL upon this Subject observes, that every City has its peculiar Ways, and this was one peculiar to the Romans : It was the Method they pursued of venting their Discontents, and letting their Superiors know wherein they dislik'd their Proceedings. Let no Man therefore, says he, call Rome a disorderly Commonwealth ; for good Examples proceed from good Education, good Education from good Laws, and good Laws from these very Tumults which some take upon them without Judgment to condemn.

CICERO, I remember, says, that the Desires of a free People never tend to the Subversion of

Liberty ; and that their Discontents proceed either from actual Oppression, or from some Danger, which they foresee, of falling into it. And in Case the People should be deceiv'd in their Opinions of Things, there is nothing more easy than to set them right, if some Orator of Honesty and Credit, will but take the Pains to shew them their Errors : For the People have a Capacity of comprehending Truth, they love it, and willingly submit to it. 'Tis therefore doubtless, that the People are the best Guardians of Liberty ; and if we look back into the *Roman History*, we shall find, that from the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, to the Time of the *Gracchi*, which took in the Space of Three Hundred Years, the Civil Broils in *Rome* seldom caus'd Banishment ; and much seldomer the Shedding of Blood. I say, that in all that Period of Time, their civil Discord did not occasion the Banishment of more than ten *Romans*, and very few were fatigued with pecuniary Punishments. But in the Time of *CATILINE*, whose History we are writing, when Gold had influenc'd the Minds and Affections of Men, and the *Tribunes* of the People so shamefully sold the Liberty of the *Romans*, there was a villainous Harmony in the Senate, the Cause of all the Murthers, Depredations, Taxes, and Innovations of Government which follow'd.

• T H E R E was one material Circumstance in the Management of the *Conspirators*, which we forbore to touch upon in the first Part of these Memoirs ; I mean their Oppression of *METELLUS*, a most noble *Roman*. He was, indeed, the Darling of the People, and boasted the Spirit of a true *Roman Heroe* : His Notions of Honour

nour were so exalted, that he scarce believ'd it possible for a Man to be a Villain, till he was convinc'd of it by many Instances from the Wretches whom he had taken out of Dirt and Misery.

THE Authors of that Age make this remarkable Observation on the Fortunes of *Metellus* and of *Marcus Crassus*. The latter, they say, was so happy as never to have met with *Ingratitude* from any Man ; and the Reason was, because he had never serv'd any one : But the former, who was a Lover of Mankind, and scatter'd his Benefits with an unceasing Hand, was generally betray'd by the Persons that were *inrich'd* by his *Bounty*. His House was an *Asylum* to which all the miserable repair'd for Refuge ; and he thought every Man intituled to his Favour, who was unhappy. To be a *Roman*, and be poor, was all the Merit that he look'd for in the Object, on whom he intended to bestow a Benefit ; and he judg'd it a kind of Robbery to with-hold his Hand, where Indigence laid Claim to his Protection.

THESE were the Virtues that made *Metellus* ador'd by his Country, and which doubled their Respect and Veneration for those Honours which they paid to his high Birth and Quality ; for he was of the first Rank of *Patricians* ; and so implicit a Faith did the *Romans* pay to his great Worth and Honour, that if any thing was propos'd in the Senate, the People were attentive to observe which Side of the Question *Metellus* embrac'd, and to that Side they were sure to give their Voices. For it was a Maxim among them, that *the best and most generous Roman in the World must always be*

be in the Right. Nor was the Wife of *Metellus* inferior to her Lord, either in the Honours of her Birth, or Virtues of her Mind: Her good Nature and Benevolence went Hand in Hand with his; and never were two Tempers so equally match'd, except in *Marcus Crassus* and his Wife, in whom there was as remarkable a *Concurrrenee* in the Extream of *Sordidness*.

T H E *Conspirators* therefore hating the Merit and Popularity of the generous *Metellus*, (whose Virtue shone upon them with so strong a Lustre, than, like Owls, and other Birds of Night, that cannot bear the Light of the Sun, they seem'd blinded with his Rays,) plotted together to bring about his Ruine. As the most material Step towards perpetrating their more wicked Designs, the *Cabal*, or *Rabble* of *Senators* of *CATILINE'S* Party, open'd against him, and endeavour'd to blacken him with *Calumnies* and *invidious Accusations*. But *Metellus*, who knew both how dear he was to the People, and how fiercely he should be worried by the *State-Bengles*, disdain'd to give them an *ineffectual Answer*, and determin'd to withdraw himself from *Rome*, which now was grown such a Sink of Corruption, that it was not worthy of the Presence of a noble *Roman*. When many of the *Patricians* and better Sort gather'd about him, and offer'd him their Service, he would not suffer them to raise a Sedition upon his Account, but was obstinately bent to a Retirement, saying, *Either when the Posture of Affairs is mended, and the People repent, I shall be recall'd; or if Things remain in the present Posture, it is preferable to me to be absent.*

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\* The Departure of *Metellus* was Matter of Triumph to the Faction, and satisfied both their Wishes and Resentments: For they immediately fell to pillaging his Goods, and made an Edict for the keeping him in Banishment. And from this Period may properly be dated the Beginning of *CATILINE'S Conspiracy*.

**METELLUS**, having thus withdrawn from *Rome*, was receiv'd with great Favour and Honour at *Rhodes*: And tho' stript of his Fortunes, and a Dependant on that State, he still kept up his old Generosity of Spirit and Love to his Countreymen: For no *Roman*, either distress'd by Shipwreck, or under other Necessities, was cast on that Island, but resorted to *Metellus*, and found his Purse open to their Wants: We should not fail of numerous Instances of this his Bounty, had † *Plutarch* left us his *Life* as he intended to have done: But either that Author did not live to perform this desirable Tract, or it has had the Fate of many other valuable Pieces, to be lost by the Injury of Time.

I THINK it cannot be displeasing here, to take a short Notice of the Posture of civil Affairs at this *Crisis* in *Rome*; that the Reader, who, perhaps, may conceive an high Opinion of the Dignity of that Commonwealth, may not be so

\* *Metellus optimis viris ad se concurrentibus, non permisit suā causā seditionem exoriri, verūm optimā ratione usus, urbe egressus, inquit: Vel Ego in Patriam revocabor, cū melius Respublica habebit, & Plebs resipiet; vel si eodem modo habebit, abesse præstiterit.*

Plut. in *Vita C. Marii.*

† *Plutarch in vita C. Marii.*

much

much surpriz'd at the mean and contemptible Things that were now transacted. † It was an Old Institution at *Rome*, that the Citizen who was qualified to be elected a Senator, must be worth 800 *Sestertia*: But *CATILINE* and his Faction found a way to evade this Law, and procur'd several Vagabond Persons to be call'd up into the Senate. These of Consequence were to make a Trade of their new Honours, and whether the Affair depending concern'd private Property, or some Business of the Commonwealth, they always went on that Side where the most Money was stirring. When such Men as these were once in Possession of this Dignity, their Busines was to keep themselves so: In Order to which, they took away from the People their *Comitia*, which was a Priviledge the Romans had of meeting at certain stated Times, being lawfully call'd by a Magistrate, to chuse Men, and determine of Things by their Votes. || For had these *Comitia* been continued and allow'd, they were under Apprehensions of being call'd to Account for their Corruptions; and as *C. Memmius* in his celebrated Speech upon another Occasion observ'd, *Majus Dedeo est parta amittere, quam omnino non paravisse.*\*

We finish'd the first Part of these Membirs (for a short Recapitulation seems to me very necessary) with the triumphant Acquittal of *CATILINE*, the seeming Conviction of *Annius*, and the Characters of several of the Accompli-

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† P. Minutius de Civ. Rom. Antiquo Jure Civ. Romanor. I. i. cap. 17. Salust in bello Jugurthino. || Sigonius de Ces;

ces; But the Enquiries did not end here: The Management of the Conspirators was so intricate and perplex'd, that it lengthen'd out the Proceedings of the Senate, by trifling Diggessions, by proposing insignificant Edicts, to amuse, divert, and delay the important Discoveries before them. For, as we elsewhere have observ'd, there was a false Zeal at the Beginning which shew'd it self in the Senate, and which was to be cool'd and taken off by Degrees, and this was the Work of Time.

WE have already declar'd, by what Artifices this was brought about, in our Relation of the *Trial of CATILINE*; and with what infinite Success, in favour of the *Conspirators*. But upon every new Accusation, there were new Applications to be made to those Senators of a forgiving, pacifick Disposition, who never would give their Votes before they felt the Merits of the Cause. And tho' History has been very severe in its Remarks upon the Proceedings of some of these Senators, concerning the Number of Things which they did against the Sense of the People, and Advantage of the Commonwealth: Yet thus much may be said in their Commendation ( which I hope, is some small Degree of Praise ) that the corrupt Part of the Senators never voted for one *Edit or Resolution* contrary to the *Interest of the People* without being paid for it.

THUS did this Stream of Corruption, like a furious Current that has swell'd above its Banks, bear down every Thing before it, drowning the Neighbouring Plains, sweeping away

whatever oppos'd its way, and leaving a Desolation not to be express'd. Yet, even then, there were several Virtuous and truly Noble *Romans*, among the Senators; but few were their Numbers, and not able to oppose the mighty Strength which warr'd against them,

*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis  
Tempus eget -----* Virg.

AND this it was that made the knavish Cabal amongst them great, opulent, and mighty: For it is certain, that if there had been no Men of Honour at that Time in the Senate, the being a Villain would have been a very poor Trade: and thus the little Opposition that was made against them, faint as it was, was sufficient to make them distinguish themselves in that horrid Light, in which we view them at so many Ages distance, but at the same time made them Great.

THIS artificial way of managing the Senate, it is thought, that *CATILINE* learn'd from *Sylla*; who once proposing to the Senate to raise a Tax upon the People of five hundred Talents, *Decius Paterculus*, a Senator, oppos'd it. This *Paterculus* was a Leader of a great Party, a Man of equal Honour, but of much greater Capacity than our *Hortensius*: He made an Harangue against this Custom of plundering the People, and by his Interest, and that of the honest Senators, who join'd with him upon this Occasion, the Proposal was thrown out with Scorn and Disgrace. But *Sylla*, and his Faction, fancying this Man to be made of a pliant sort of Mettle, tempted him privately with the Offer of a large Bribe, on Condition

Condition that he would joyn with them in passing an Edict for levying the above mentioned Sum upon the Publick. *Paterculus*, being softned with the Offer of the Bribe, told them that they wanted half the Qualifications of Rogues; for you have nothing, said He, but the Will, without the Art, Cunning, or Wit, that is necessary in managing difficult and villanous Projects. Thereupon he advis'd them to bring the Affair on again, but that, instead of proposing five hundred Talents, they should demand a Thousand: and upon Condition they would give half that Sum to be dispos'd of at his Discretion, among the Senators who had no Aversion to Money, he undertook that their Point should be carried.

T H E Day being come, when this Affair was repropos'd to the Senate, *Paterculus* took Care to be the first Man, who rose up, and oppos'd this Demand. Looking round him with a Face of dissembled Wonder and Surprize, Most Wise and Noble Fathers, said he, Is it not astonishing to hear these Men propose a Tax of a Thousand Talents to be raised upon the People, when we could not find the least *Shadow* or *Pretence* for granting *Five Hundred*? It looks to me as if they were confident of succeeding, otherwise they never would have risen thus in their Demands. For my own Part, I must confess, I have so far chang'd my Sentiments upon this Matter, that I would advise every honest *Roman*, who has the least Tenderness, or Concern for the Poor People, to grant this Levy without any further Debate, or Enquiry about the Unreasonableness of it, lest if we again persist to refuse, they should advance their Demand to *Two thousand* Talents.

THUS was this unhappy People banter'd and laugh'd into Misery ; and the Fruits of their Industry, and the Labours of their Years, taken from them in Sport. But, in the History which we are writing, the People must of Necessity be in deplorable Circumstances, when the *Criminals* were themselves the *Judges*, or at least so many of the *Judges* were the *Criminals*. Continal Le-vies were made upon the People by the presiding Faction, upon the most unreasonable and ridiculous Pretences : whereas the poor People knew very well that all these *Exactions* were dispos'd of in *Bribes* among the *Senators* ; and as often as there was any important Question depending in the Senate, it was attended with a new Tax, which was to be administred to the corrupt Senators like a sweet Draught, in order to make them digest a bitter Pill : Insomuch, that That Form of Government, which, before it was abus'd, maintain'd so beautiful an Order, and for many Ages dispers'd such Harmony in the Minds of Men of all Degrees, now lay upon the Necks of the People, like a heavy Yoak : and many, who lov'd their Country, and would have died in Defence of its Constitution, if the least Innovation had been attempted, seeing how it was abus'd in the Administration, thought Monarchy, and even Tyranny it self, preferable to so corrupt a Senate. For every Thing was now done, which a *Tyrant* in his Lust of Power would have done ; with this Difference, that whereas a *Tyrant* would have done it by his own *Authority*, it now was obtain'd by *Bribery* ; which of consequence was so much more burthensom to the People, because they paid more heavily for it.

B U T

BUT to return to the Series of my Story;

AS soon as *CATILINE* was acquitted, He and *Hortensius* play'd the Part of two Jugglers, whose Business is to impose on the Crowd by Confederacy: And now mighty Discoveries were to be made, and great Severities inflicted; and now again, these Discoveries would not amount to any Conviction, and consequently the Expectations of Punishment were disappointed. The great Business that they had upon their Hands, was to amuse the People, and endeavour to take off the Fury of their just Resentments. Every Day produc'd a false Rumour; and whenever a Conspirator was acquitted, a Report was industriously spread, that He should stand a second Trial. This a little appeas'd the violent Clamours. Another Report, which they caus'd to pass among the People, was, that *CATILINE* and the rest would come voluntarily, and refund the People's Money.

IN the mean time, to make a little Shew of Justice, they resolv'd to punish certain Inferior Persons, who were not in the Conspiracy, but had been subservient to them in carrying it on, without being in the Secret of the Wickedness that was design'd by it. This gave Occasion to many vehement Debates; and there was much Division touching the Quality of the Punishment that should be inflicted. Some thought, as the People had been so pillag'd and defrauded, that Death could not be too much for such Crimes: But the Number were for mitigating this Sentence. One, who was suspected of being himself

self guilty, made an Harangue against these Men ; but contended strongly that their Punishment ought not to affect their Lives ; He was not, he said, for having them spar'd to strengthen C A T I L I N E's Party, but he would advise a Petuniary Punishment, and that their Persons should be confin'd in strong Hold : That no Applications should be made thereafter either to the Senate, or People in their favour : And that whoever should attempt it, should be look'd upon as an Enemy to the Republick and Common Safety. \* This palliating Speech contain'd Reasons for sparing the Conspirators, upon pretence that the Laws had provided no Punishments for such Crimes as theirs ; that it would not be just to make Laws after the Facts committed ; and that tho' the Greatness of their Crimes had exceeded all Imagination, yet he would have them punish'd no otherwise than as the Laws had provided. †

T H O' these Points were handled with much Art and Eloquence, C A T O perceiv'd the Cunning and Design of this Harangue, and answer'd it by a fine Oration, which is extant in all its Length in Salust. He gives Reasons from the Nature of their Crimes, as well as for the Safety

\* Placer agitur eos dimitti, & augeri Exercitum Catilinae ? minime, Sed ita censeo ; publicandas eorum pecunias : ipsos in Vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxime opibus valent ; neu quis de his postea ad Senatum referat, neve cum populo agat ; qui aliter fecerit, Senatum existimare, eum contra Rempublicam & Salutem omnium facturum.

Sal. in bello Catilin.

† Nam si digna Paena pro Factis eorum reperitur, novum Consilium approbo : fin Magnitudo Sceleris omnium ingenia exuperat, ijs utendum censeo, quæ Legibus comparata sunt. Idem ibid.

of the Commonwealth, why they should every Man be cut off. He puts them in Mind, how many Times the Gods had sav'd the Commonwealth, but tells them, that the Divine Protection is not to be sought by the Tears of Women; but that Things succeed by Vigilance, good Counsel, and Activity. He likewise reminds them, that *Manlius Torquatus* had caus'd his Son to be put to Death, only for disobeying his Orders; and could it be a Question in that Senate, what must be done with a Crew of profligate Traytors, Plunderers, and Despoilers? And then he proceeded to enumerate the Calamities, which they had brought upon the Commonwealth, the Discouragements that had been shewn to *Virtue*, and *Honour*; instead of which they had introduc'd *Luxury* and *Avarice*, *Publick Poverty*, and *Wealth* amass'd in *Private Hands*.

WHILE the Affair of Punishment was thus controverted in the Senate, while every Tongue presum'd to name and censure the Guilty, and every honest Heart was wishing that they might receive the Rewards of their Treachery, the *foreign Courtezans*, whom we have mention'd in the first Part of our Memoirs, were extreamly terrified at every Step of these Discoveries, and every Debate that arose upon the Enquiries of the Senate. They expected nothing less than to be made publick Examples to frighten all *Concubines* for the future from meddling with any thing out of their own Way.

IT is pretty observable, that all Countries and all Ages have agreed in their Sentiments in this one Point, that they have thought it a *Grievance*,

vance, that the *Ladies of Pleasure* should be enrich'd by the Spoils of the Publick. This was a particular Heart-burning at *Rome*; they could not bear to see these prodigal Dames flourishing in the Substance of the ruin'd Citizens: And there has been a Time in *England*, when Murmurs have arose from the self-same Discontent; For as Sir *Walter Raleigh* curiously observes, it hath never griev'd the Subject to give to their King, but when they knew there was a devouring Lady, that had her Share in all things that pass'd. \*

B U T these successful *Harlots* coming off beyond all Expectation, their Transports now were equal to their Fears before. The same prevailing Argument that made others Innocent protected them from too severe a Scrutiny, (*Quid non mortalia pettora cogis, Auri sacra fames!*) Our Authorities, indeed, say, that a certain noble Senator was for bringing them upon Examination, but it was a Work of too much Honesty to be effected, tho' the very Reasons that were used to have them spar'd, should have been turn'd to enhance their Punishments; to wit, that they having sent all their Dividend of the Plunder into the Country of the *Allobroges*, which was their Native Land, it would be impossible to make them refund, since there was no coming at their Money, or making them give it back at that Distance.

Y O U N G *Verres*, as we have formerly taken Notice, was Agent for these foreign Courtezans, in procuring them a Share of Money in

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\* In his Prerogative of Parliaments. p. 324.

the publick Plunder. *Aurelia* and *Fulvia* were the Two, whose Interest he found most his Account to espouse : His Acquaintance with Galantries let him so far into the Secrets of the Sex, that he knew all the little Piques and Jealousies that Women are certain to entertain against each Other : He knew how Each desires to have the Preference, both in Esteem and Profit, of the other : And therefore, whenever he traffick'd for *Aurelia*, he inform'd her that *Fulvia* was a Stranger to her Dividend ; and so, on the contrary, when he traded for *Fulvia*, he inform'd her that *Aurelia* knew as little of her Profits. But when the whole Matter came to be unravell'd to the Senate, and all young *Verræ's* Transactions were laid open, it was no longer a Secret, what immense Summs both these Scampers got by partaking in the Gains of this Conspiracy.

M.Y Readers, perhaps, will be induc'd to think that *Rome* was a Place of signal Chastity at this Time, when Great Men were oblig'd to send so far for Harlots. On the contrary, it never was more vicious ; and tho' this was the first Instance we find of having it done, 'tis certain that they afterwards repeated the same Extravagance. For the Emperor *Domitian* sent his Favourite *Aretinus* into *Germany*, to fetch some Harlots of the largest Breed from that Country ! Great Men, wanton with Wealth, have strange Curiosities ; they were wont to send to the same Place for *Mares* of a prodigious Size to draw their Chariots : and if the Accounts, which History gives us, be just, these Ladies were fit for either Use.

*AURELIA Orestilla*, 'tis said, was so overjoy'd at her unexpected Deliverance, that she resolv'd, by way of Thanks, to repair the Temple of *Venus* at her own proper Charge. She had in her Youth chosen *Venus* for her *Tutelar Goddess*, and continued, during her whole Life, the strictest Practiser of all her *Rites* and *Ceremonies*. Some Authors seem to intimate, that she and *Fulvia*, with the other Harlots, had all been chosen Priestesses of *Venus*; but this appears a very doubtful Piece of History; for if it be true that they had no *Personal Charms*, they could in no wise have been admitted to that Function. It is certain, however, that *Fulvia* took no inconsiderable Pains to initiate several young Ladies in the Mysteries of this Goddess, and discover'd to them the Secrets practised by the Women of their Country, when they sacrific'd to her. This *Fulvia* was particularly learned in the *Language* of that lascivious Deity, which she used with great Freedom before the Men, having observ'd that this was one of the Pleasures of some batter'd Lovers of that Age.

I MUST not forget here a memorable Circumstance, which happen'd when it was debated to call these Women and young *VERRES* to an Account: The Generality of the Senate overruling this Point, and *Cicero* finding it was in vain to press their Examination, he sat down, and, with a becoming Air of Resentment, said, *Well then, let them go unpunish'd; for the Anger of a State should not extend either to Fools, or Women.*

BUT tho' these *Courtezans* came off so well, those inferior Persons, who, as we have above hinted,

hinted, were only Machines and subservient Agents, and were not acquainted with the iniquitous Schemes of the Conspiracy, felt all the Severity of the Senate turn'd upon them, and were mulcted in their Estates, as the Laws had made no provisional Punishments to reach their Persons. These Sufferers, who knew well where all the Guilt lay, and what Artifice and Partiality were used to skreen the real Criminals, did not spare to proclaim their Sentiments of the Injury, in having a Punishment transferr'd upon them, which was due to the Crimes of others. One of them more bold, and more facetious, than the rest, compar'd his Case to that of the condemn'd *Thief in the Fable*, who being exhorted to Repentance, said, that he repented of one Crime from the Bottom of his Soul, and that was, that he did not steal enough. *I have stolen enough,* continued he, *for my self only, but had I stolen enough for my Judges too, my Crimes then would have wanted no Exhortation to Repentance.* So bold, and publick, was the Raillery of the Times against the corrupt Part of the Senators,

N O R had *Quintus Annius* any better Opinion of the partial Proceedings in these Trials; for he himself being found guilty, as is mention'd in the first Part of our Memoirs, thought himself cruelly used by those whom he expected to find his Friends: Many of whom did not stick to give their Voices against him; and *CATILINE* himself is reported to have said, when it was debated in the Senate to mulct *Annius* in a Sum of Money, *Let us fine him to satisfy the People.*

THIS could not fail of provoking *Annius*, who, in an Oration which he made to the Senate in his own Defence, said but little to palliate his own Guilt, but very artfully expos'd the Partiality and Corruption of the Senators, who were for condemning him, at the same Time that they acquitted others whom they knew to be more guilty. Nor did he forbear slyly to insinuate to them, that he knew the Reason was, because he had not applied himself to them as They had ; hinting at the *Bribes*, which all *Rome* knew were scatter'd among the *corrupt Senators*. And it was suspected, that this Boldness, with which he had tax'd them, procur'd the Remission of Part of his Punishment, to silence his Clamours.

*LENTULUS*, whom we have formerly observ'd to have been acquitted on his Trial, began now to be very busy in the Senate ; making Enquiries into the Conduet of others, and affecting a mighty Shew of Integrity. This was another Artifice of the Conspirators, to put some of their own Body upon the prosecuting Part, which was a sure Method of stifling those Discoveries, which otherwise might have turn'd to their Prejudice. It may not be below our Notice, as Historians, to account for *Lentulus's* obtaining the Sirname of *Sura*, which was from a particular Action that he us'd upon his Acquittal. Being a Man of a timorous Spirit, and weak Capacity, he was observ'd to be under great Terrors on the Day when he was call'd to the Question : But as soon as he was clear'd by the Senate, in a Transport of Joy he started, and clapp'd

clapp'd his Hand upon the Calf of his Leg, which the *Romans* call'd *Sura*; intimating sportingly, that if any thing could have been prov'd against him, he must have submitted to the Penalty. *Ez ab hoc deinceps Suræ inditum est illi Cognomen*, says *PLUTARCH\**. And this he did in Allusion to a certain Custom which they had at *Tennis*, or some such Exercise, that if any one in his Play by Negligence did let down the Ball, he was oblig'd to hold out his Leg, and have the Ball thrown at it: which Action, we are inform'd, the *Romans* call'd *Suram dare* †.

*LUCIUS Bestia* was never question'd for the Great Bribe which it was discover'd that he had receiv'd: but *Cicero* made an Oration against *Cethagus*, tho' he believ'd it would be of no Consequence: he mov'd the Senate however, to shew his Detestation of the Man, that *Cethagus* might be punished like a common *Gladiator*, which was to fight upon the Stage for the Diversion of the People, till he was kill'd.

*OLD Verres* was, indeed, examin'd; but taking upon him to speak loftily of himself, and with too little Respect of others, a *Roman* who was present, and shock'd at his Insolence, call'd out aloud, *Ad Saturnalia* ||. This was spoken in Scorn and Contempt of the Man, and to silence him by putting him in Mind of what he had been: for the *Saturnalia* was a Festival, at which the Slaves in *Rome* were allow'd a Liberty of saying what they pleas'd in Railery of their Masters.

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\* In Vita Ciceronis.      † Cælius Rhodoginus.  
l. 2. c. 18. Turnebi Adversaria. l. 7. c. 4.  
|| Dion. Cassius. Macrobius, &c.

WHILE the City was thus amus'd with the Enquiries of the Senate, while all were hoping to see their Oppressors crush'd by the Iron Hand of Justice, *CATILINE* was triumphing in his own Address, and artful Management : Old *Volturius* plaide a sly Game behind the Curtain, and was so defended by his Subtilty and the Faction, that his Name was not so much as call'd in Question : and the busie *Hortensius* employ'd both his Tongue and Hands to bring the Senate over to a good Opinion of the *Conspirators*. For Oratory now was not his only Province ; he was become like one of the common *Aqueducts* of the City, thro' whose Channels all the Streams of Corruption flow'd and were diffus'd ; while the corrupted Members of the Senate used their poor Country under all its Distress, as it is seen wicked Men do, that, when a House is on fire, are call'd to its Assistance, and instead of endeavouring to extinguish the Flames, fall every one to plundering and carrying off what they can, and make an Advantage out of the publick Calamity.

THO' *Hortensius* had a Reputation for Oratory, he was infinitely inferior to *Porcius Latro*, whom we have often mention'd in our former Memoirs, and who was not only the finest Speaker, but was one of the most honest *Romans* at that time in the Senate. The Party of *Catiline* and *Hortensius* hated him, because they knew he was not to be corrupted : and we may say this of him, and some few more Patriots, that, at the *Crisis* when the greatest Villany shew'd it self, there was as great Virtue appear'd. In all his Ora-

tions

tions in the Senate, he div'd into the Truth of every Argument, wherein the Service of the Republick was concern'd ; and in the Course of prosecuting this Conspiracy, never fail'd of shewing the Wickedness of the Conspirators. He once had been imprison'd by *Catiline's* Faction, for having expos'd the Malice of their Designs on the People, in an Oration which he made to the Senate. With these good Qualifications, he made no very eminent Figure for his *Wealth*, but still makes a very fine one for his *Honesty*. His Sentences were sweet, yet Masculine ; and he deliver'd his Harangues, with a modest and becoming Gesture.

**A N O T H E R** noble Roman, who strenuously oppos'd the *Catilinarian* Faction, was **P E T R E I U S**. This Gentleman was descended of a *Patrician* Family, and adorn'd the Honours which he deriv'd from his Ancestors with the Lustre of his own Virtues. He was, as *Salust* says of him, *Homo maxime militaris, qui amplius annos triginta Tribunus, aut Praefectus, aut Legatus, aut Praetor, cum magnâ Gloriâ in Exercitu fuerat*. He had been both a *Centurion* and *Praetor*, or General, in the Army : had spent many Years in the Wars of *Rome* with infinite Honour, and bore the Marks of the Wounds which he receiv'd in his Country's Cause, having lost a Limb in her Service. But his military Prowess was not the most shining part of his Character ; for he was generous, and very sincere in his Friendships : in all Debates of the Senate, whether they concern'd the publick or private Property, he was earnest and steady to that side of the Question, which had Justice to recommend it. In private Life

Life he was remarkable for his Humanity to the Distrest ; and as it was the Custom in those Days for Great Men to have their *Clients*, who were Persons they protected; not for Money, as our venal Lawyers of these Times do ; but merely for Favour ; all PETREIVS's *Clients* were Such, whose Misfortunes gave them a Title to his Patronage.

THESE were, no Doubt, some other Patriots of that Time, of great, tho' not of equal, Honour ; but their Characters lie in a very narrow Compass, and their Vertues were less employ'd in combating the Villanies of the Conspirators. Besides, Historians, like Painters, are used to allow most Place to the principal Figures in their Story, and always to set them in the strongest Point of Light, so that, wherever the Affair of Catiline is describ'd, the Notoriety of him and his Faction so ingrosses the History, that a virtuous Character is thrown into the Shade, and serves only to brighten the Colours of their Villany.

IT was a very fine Reflexion of Hesiod, and particularly verified in the Case of CATILINE, that no Report or Opinion absolutely dies, which once is grounded in the Hearts of the Populace \*. Tho' CATILINE could evade the Censure of his Judges, he could not by the same Arts take off the Prejudices of the Multitude. They were satisfied of his Guilt, and felt the Effects of his impious Designs too severely, ever to pardon

him.

him in their Minds, or to harbour any Opinion of his Honesty. They knew that where private Property was invaded, their Laws had made Provision for their Redress : *Nam Civibus cum sunt eruptæ Pecunia, civili ferè actione, & privato jure refertuntur.* But from *CATILINE* what Compensation was to be expected ? Or, what, indeed, availed their idle Hatred ? As they could not have Satisfaction on his Person, they were resolved to have it on his Character. They vented their Resentments in publick Clamours ; they loaded him with Reproaches, and pursued him with Libels, if any thing could be call'd a Libel, on One who was the publick Mark of Infamy. They drew Parallels from the Abuses of Magistrates in other States, and applied them all to the pernicious Conduct of *CATILINE*, and their own Distress. Now were reviv'd and handed about the *Elegiack Verses* of *SOLON*, which he made on a like Calamity of the *Athenians*, and which make such a Figure in one of the Pleadings of *Demosthenes*\*. As they were reckon'd very lively to paint the Frauds and Oppression of *CATILINE* and the Conspirators, and the Miseries under which *Rome* groan'd from their Extortions, I have thought proper to translate them from the *Greek*, and to give them a Place in these Memoirs.

*SOLON* had a Mind to shew, that tho' the State of *Athens* labour'd under very severe Distress from the Villany and Extortions of her Magistrates, yet the Gods would preserve her from utter Ruine ; that Vengeance would over-

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\* Demosth. in Oratione de Falsa Legatione.

take the Iniquity of her Oppressors; and the  
Realm flourish again, when Regard was had to  
Justice.

### The Elegiack Verses of S O L O N.

**A**ND shall this Empire fall? . . . It must not be,  
So Jove and the assembled Gods decree.   
Such strong Protection heav'n-born Pallas lends,  
And ev'ry baleful Influence defends.  
With out-stretch'd Arms the Guardian Goddess waits,  
Potent in Aid, and hovers o'er our Gates.  
But we our selves against our selves are bent,  
And strive to disappoint the Gods' Intent:  
Provoking Ruine, while each Villain stains  
His Hands and Conscience with illegal Gains:  
The Men in Office, as the Vulgar base,  
With mean Corruption their high States disgrace;  
But instant Vengeance their bad Deeds provoke,  
For mighty Crimes deserve a mighty stroke.  
Swol'n with Success, in boundless Wealth elate,  
Profuse in Riot as o'ergrown Estate,  
They know no Mean, but virtuous Rule deride,  
And give a Loose to Luxury and Pride.  
Strong in Oppression, and in Guilt grown bold,  
They board up Treasures of ill-gotten Gold.  
The Publick Wealth is seiz'd by private Hands,  
Nor spares their Rapine what the Shrine demands:  
The Gods and People, equally their Care,  
A common Spoil, among themselves they share.  
Each, Harpy-like, invades his Neighbour's Rights;  
And laughs at Justice, and her Edict's flights.  
But she, stern Goddess, all their Actions weighs,  
Nor long their righteous Punishment delays.

Thus

*Thus o'er the Realm a dang'rous Ulcer spreads,  
And big Distress erects her Hydra's Heads.  
The Soul of Liberty we once could boast,  
Is damp't with Wants, and in Oppression lost.  
Proud of her Gains imperious Slav'ry stands,  
And measures out the unacquainted Lands :  
The cheated Poor, to shun th' Oppressor's Snares,  
Fly from their Native Clime, and Household Cares.  
Now Ruine, like a Stream, outragious grows,  
And in its Way each private Dome o'erflows.  
Not Wealth, nor Grandeur, can its Force rebate ;  
It seeks the Proud, and mocks their empty State.  
Thence with remorseless Haste it burries on,  
And with the Pallace sweeps the Cottage down.*

*THE Men of Athens, to my Words attend,  
And hear the Counsel of his Country's Friend :  
Warn'd by Misfortunes, e'er it be too late,  
Learn, that Injustice may o'er-turn a State.  
Revere the Goddess, and her awful Scale ;  
And let the Cries of the opprest prevail.  
Shall cunning Traytors, skreen'd by Men in Pow'r,  
Your People pillage, and your Wealth devour ?  
No ; let the Strength, and Rigour, of the Law  
Pursue the Spoilers, and Corruption awe.  
But happy is the Land, where Justice reigns ;  
She binds the daring Villain down in Chains ;  
Checks the proud Heart, makes Contumely bow,  
And smooths the sawcy supercilious Brow.  
Roots up unripen'd Guilt, e'er shot to height ;  
And makes the Law's too subtle Windings strait.  
Strife and Contention in her Presence cease,  
And turn to Order, Harmony, and Peace.*

*THE miserable Condition of the Athenian  
People, as express'd in these Verses, and which  
had*

had a great Resemblance to the Miseries of *Rome*, under the Depredations of *CATILINE* and the *Conspirators*, puts me in Mind of a Maxim, which has something in it the more extraordinary, as it was deliver'd in an Arbitrary Government: That it is the Duty of all Magistrates to defend the People; for their Case must be miserable, when they are forc'd to use their Hands to defend themselves against the *Violences* of the Great, which should be employ'd in getting the Substance of Life. ||

WHEN the Discontents of *Rome* were so high, and the Wants of private Families so pressing, it is to be admir'd that *CATILINE* did not fall by some Tumult of the Populace: But their Resentments pursued him not with this kind of Violence: They assaulted him only with their Tongues and Pens, which had indeed the Effect of galling his Pride, and letting him understand how universally he was hated.

*CATILINE* was of a very moody peevish Temper, full of Suspicion, and soon mov'd to Anger upon any Insult. And, as it is observ'd of People that are deaf, whenever they see a Laugh, or Smile, in Company, they are apt to think themselves the Objects of Raillery, and interpret every thing as a Reflection upon their InfirmitieS: So *CATILINE* understood every thing that was said, or writ, in his Time of other Men, to be levell'd at him. If a Writer happen'd

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Il faut protéger les peuples; Dieu leur a donné des bras pour gagner leur vie, plutôt que pour se défendre contre la Violence des Grands.

L'Abbé de Bellegarde.

happen'd to speak with Honour of *Brutus*, or *Scaevola*, the *Horatii*, or *Decii*, he took this to be done with a Design of Libelling him, by setting their Actions in Opposition to his. If, on the contrary, the Historian represented the Actions of infamous Men, whether Antient or Modern, *Roman* or *Barbarian*, this was still a sharper Satire; for he applied it all home to himself.

NOR did *CATILINE* alone, but the rest of the *Conspirators* likewise, take to themselves every Invective that was either spoken, or penn'd, against wicked Men: And, by their Clamours against the Authors, kept the Resentments of the People awake; who now believ'd that all which had been alledg'd against them was true; so that Things which at first were only read for *Amusement*, by these Men's *Comments* and *Constructions* to themselves, were understood in a *Sense* different from what had been before *suspected*. They best knew, indeed, whether the Copies were like them, or no, and therefore could best make the Application. And, since they were the first, who took all Infamy to themselves, it is no Wonder if the *Romans*, who hated them, agreed to let them have it.

BUT their Capriciousness on this Subject was so odd and Tyrannical, that it was a Crime for Men to complain of what they suffer'd. It was like putting Men upon the Rack, and forbidding them to groan. Such were the Miseries of these Times; yet, in the midst of all this, *CATILINE* was well enough pleas'd to see *Hortensius* abus'd, and *Hortensius* smil'd, with a malignant Satisfaction, at all the Sarcasms which were levell'd against

gainst *CATILINE*: For, as we have before observ'd, they Both envied and hated one another.

BUT *Hortensius*, who was now as much hated as *CATILINE*, was a much better Dissembler of his Resentments; he appear'd very indifferent to every thing that was spoken against him; and when his Corruptions were directly thrown in his Face, in several witty Reflexions by the honest Part of the Senate, (for this was all that they were able to do, the Taint of *Bribery* had so spread itself, and was become, as *Salust* observes, a Contagious Distemper, †) *Hortensius* was neither mov'd, nor ashamed. All the severe Truths which were utter'd of him, could never raise a Blush upon his Cheek; his Face was always the same, and tho' his Actions look'd sometimes one way, sometimes another, they, who accus'd him of Fickleness, might with the same Justice accuse the Weather-cock; which, tho' it often turns, is still true to the Wind: So in all the Doubles that *Hortensius* made, he was zealously true to his Interest.

I MUST not forget to observe, that all the Great Men of *Rome* were Professors of one Sect or other of *Philosophy*; and the Tenets of that Sect which they espous'd, were the Springs and Justification of all their Actions.

*CATILINE* and *Hortensius* were both presum'd to be of the *Epicurean* Perswasion. This Sect

† *Tanta vis morbi, atque uti Tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.* Sal. in Bello Catilinario.

Sect place their Happiness in the sensual Enjoyments of this Life; it is their Opinion, that the Gods never concern themselves with the good or bad Actions of Men, but leave all Things to be govern'd by Chance. That Fame and Reputation are idle Things, meer Bubbles rais'd to frighten Fools from the Pursuit of their Interests; therefore they ought to despise what Men say of them, either now, or hereafter. *Hortensius* adher'd to these Tenets very religiously: And as to one Part of them, he troubled himself no more about the Gods, than he thought the Gods concern'd themselves about him.

I SHALL think it no Digression to enlarge a little upon the Doctrines of the *Epicureans*, as it will give a better Account of the Men whose History I am writing, than the strictest Detail of their Actions could furnish.

THEIR Reason for despising Fame seems to be this, because they can find no Profit in the Praises and Commendations of Posterity. As they denied a Providence, they held that there was no Reward or Punishment hereafter. By such Principles they were a Sect pernicious to all Society. Government, they said, proceeded from Man's natural Imperfections; therefore he, who by Cunning, Strength, or Deceit, had got the Mastery of others, was become their Lord by Right, and might rob them of their Possessions and Lives too, if either were an Obstacle to the Prosecution of his Wishes.

NOW, Man being by Nature ambitious of Rule, if an *Epicurean* once came to be a Governor,

nour, he needed not to be concern'd at what he did, so he was above Punishment. The Prospect of Profit might very well lead him on to Villany; nor can it be wonder'd, that he should stick at no Wickedness, which was attended with Pleasure.

FOR all that these Philosophers thought the Causes of Virtues were Fear and Distrust; they endeavour'd to disgrace Religion by representing it as a Trick of State, and that it was supported by Laws, out of Policy, to keep Men in Awe. Hence, therefore, that was an *Epicurean*, was by Consequence a Traytor to his Country, and a Disturber of the Common-wealth: for the Cause of the Gods and of Men is the same.

THEY of this Sect who were private Men, were Debauchées; and they, who came to be Great and Powerful, were Oppressors, Plunderers, and Betrayers of Justice. By their wicked Doctrines they endeavoured to stifle the Gla- mours of Conscience, and would not start Fears to disturb their soft Hours, nor distract themselves with Reflections on a future State, which must be melancholy to Men of their Lives. They commenc'd Villains, and then endeavour'd to reconcile themselves to the Profession by an impious Philosophy, that rooted up the very Foundations of all Morality, and must in time overturn all Societies. For it being their Interest that there should be no Gods; they labour'd to believe what they wish'd might be. And one of their Arguments against a divine Being, was (a Sophistry drawn from their own sordid Principles) that Interest is the Cause of all Good Na- ture;

ture, and the only Spring of Action. And what Interest could the Gods have, say they, in making Man, and this Sublunary World ? What Return could they expect, or what Happiness receive from Man, to induce them to do all this ? By such impious and shallow Absurdities of Reasoning, strove they to rob the Gods of their Benevolence : whereas all Good Men know, that single Benevolence is a strong Motive to Action ; and, even among our selves, he is hated who minds nothing but his own Interest, and makes That the Measure of all his Actions. *LUCRETIUS*, indeed, pretends to compliment this Sect, of which he was a Member, by insinuating that their Lives were much better than their Doctrines. But, by the Actions of these Men, whose History I am writing, I must leave the Readers to judge of that Point.

T H E Consequence of the Political Tenets of this Sect, was, that the Weak were by Nature Slaves to the Strong, the Innocent to the Crafty, and the Virtuous to Villains : And, it is to be observ'd, that in all Things they acted up to their impious Principles.

T H E I R Master *Epicurus* says, that *Diagoras* turn'd Atheist, because he did not see immediate Vengeance fall on Persons that were perjur'd : And *Velleius Paterculus*, a Follower of this Sect, produces the long and prosperous Reign of *Orestes*, who had murther'd *Pyrrhus*, to prove, that if there were Gods, they had approv'd of Murther. The *Platonists* oppos'd these, who said it was the End of good Men to be like God ; and that this Imitation is the Life of the Soul.

*PLUTARCH* has thrown down the boasted Pillar of Atheism rais'd by the *Epicureans*, with one easy and natural Argument.: That the Gods do not presently punish wicked Men, that they may have Time to become better. If *Miltiades*, says he, had been destroy'd, while he acted the Part of a Tyrant; if *Cimon* in his Incest, or *Themistocles* in his Debaucheries, what had become of *Marathon*, *Erymedon*, and *Dianium*; what of the Glory and Liberty of the *Athenians*? *PLUTARCH* likewise maintains, that wicked Men are sometimes spar'd to be the Scourges of other wicked Men, and to execute the just Judgments of the Gods. This is the Case of all Tyrants; and for these Causes was *Phalaris* particularly sent to plague the *Agrigentines*.

SO Men, sometimes, after the Example of the Gods, chuse out the most wicked Persons to be the Instruments of publick Justice: Such, for the most part, are *Lictors* and *Jailers*, and sometimes even the *Judges* themselves. There is a famous Passage in *Greek History*, to prove why wicked Men are suffer'd to prosper. *Cedrenus* tells us, that when a Monk enquir'd of God why he suffer'd cruel *Phocas*, treacherous to his Master *Mauritius*, and an implacable Enemy to the Christians, to obtain the Empire, and enjoy Power large as his Malice; a Voice gave this Answer to his Demand, Because I could find none worse to scourge the Wickedness of the Citizens. ---- We may presume, it was the same *Cause* that induc'd Providence to suffer *CATILINE* to escape Punishment, *LUCIUS BESTIA* to be a *Judge*,

Judge, and *HORTENSIUS* to ride the *Roman* Senate.

I A M fearful that I am taking too wide a Scope on this Part of the Subject, and therefore must contract the Argument. There were some, who would have it that *CATILINE* was a *Sceptick*, whose Doctrine it is to doubt of every Thing. Freedom of Opinion, and Serenity of Mind, is what they set up for : Their Notions of Right and Wrong were confin'd to the Laws of their Country ; and the Customs, or Worship, of the City or Nation, where they liv'd, determin'd their Religion. This is a Proof that *CATILINE* could not be a *Sceptick*, but must be an *Epicurean*, as well as *HORTENSIUS*.

I T was design'd much to the Disadvantage of *CATO*, that he was esteem'd a *Cynick*, and accus'd of the Moroseness in his Manners, which that *Sett* particularly affected. But happy had it been for *Rome*, if the *Conspirators* had all been *Cynicks*, since that Moroseness was only shewn in Discountenance of Vice and Villany.

*HORTENSIUS*, on the other Hand, had that Sort of Politeness in his Manners which the *Romans* call'd *Urbanity* : A Qualification which he found of eminent Service, since without it he could not have been endur'd among Men, so flagrant were his Corruptions.

I T may seem at first a very odd Transition to turn from the *Religion* of *CATILINE* to his *Gallantries* : But as his Principles were founded only to support his Pleasures, so his Pleasures

were as bad and extravagant as his Principles. In Spight of the universal Odium that pursued him, and the many Invectives that were levell'd at his Character, he labour'd much to appear easy, and applied himself to those vicious Diversions, in the Pursuit of which he was very vehement, and indefatigable.

LUXURY, as we have observ'd, was now in its Height as well as Poverty, in the *Roman Republick*: And what made the People more unhappy than ever they had been before, made the Great Ones drunk with Riotings, and wanton with Abundance. Therefore did they strain their Inventions to explore new Ways of gratifying their sensual Appetites; Nature was forsaken, and abus'd in their Pleasures; and Love, with which by her Laws Man was allow'd to gratify his Passions, (for she gives us not Desires in vain,) was perverted to a most abominable Use.

CATILINE was publick and preposterous in this Sort of Gallantry: Nor was he alone or singular in the Practice of it. For the *Patrics*, and *Cinadi*, began to be in the greatest Request in those Times, and to be look'd upon as the fine Gentlemen of the Age. Of these, Numbers resorted to CATILINE's House, and found Entertainment, who were publickly reported not to have any Regard to their Modesty. \*

### THESE

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\* Scio fuisse nonnullos, qui ita existumarent, juventutem, quæ domum Catilinæ frequentabat, parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse.

Sal. in Bell. Catil.

THESE Sallies of *unnatural* Lewdness must proceed from Surfeits of Pleasure, or from a restless Desire of making Discoveries, more unreasonable than his, who, not content with the World that we enjoy'd, would toil to discover a new one. In short, nothing that was common could go down with these luxurious Men. A Poet of ours, I remember, talks somewhere of diving into the Bottom of the Sea, to pluck up drown'd Honour by the Locks : These Men, on the other Hand, were for diving into the very Sinks of Nature, in the Quest of infamous Pleasure. But the *Romans*, who hated *CATILINE*, were very severe in their Reflexions upon his Gallantries ; and were wont to say, that he was forc'd upon these *preposterous* Ways of solacing himself, because he frighten'd Love away from him with his Looks.

MY Readers, perhaps, may be apt to think, that the Gallantries of *CATILINE* are foreign to the Nature of these Memoirs ; but since *Sallust* and *Plutarch* have both taken Notice of them, I could not pass them over in Silence with any Justice. For, in those Orations which were spoken against him in the Senate, when he was present, the Licentiousness of his Amours was thrown in his Face, and made an Aggravation of his other Vices. *Julius Caesar*, particularly, tho' he was a Man of Pleasure and free Conversation, complains, that by the Dissoluteness of *CATILINE*, *rapi & Virgines & Pueros* : A Sentence which I shall forbear to translate out of Regard to Decency ; and lest, accidentally, these *Memoirs* should fall into the Hands of the *Ladies*.

B U T,

B U T, to return from those Vices, which were only personal in Him, to those by which the Commonwealth was affected. Never was the Republick in a more desperate Condition : An Impunity was granted to the highest Crimes ; immense Riches were in the Hands of a few Great Ones ; and Loss, Discredit and Ruin oppress'd the State in general. † These were all the Consequences that *CATILINE*'s Ambition wish'd for ; all his Aims of Happiness were centred in the Distress of his Country : Now, having secur'd himself from his deserv'd Punishment, strengthen'd his Party by a Body of infamous Senators bought over by Bribes, and put himself in a Capacity of saving his Fellow-Conspirators, yet was he not content, but seem'd to have gain'd but half his Point. 'Tis true, he had Possession of the People's Money, and he still maintain'd his Dignity in the Commonwealth ; but this was not enough to satisfy him ; the most material Thing was left undone, and that was the subverting the Constitution ; the Attempt of which, at last, indeed, cost him his Life.

*MACHIAVEL* is very curious in his Remarks upon the Government of the *Decemvirate in Rome* : And, particularly, upon the Conduct of *Appius*, who was at the Head of this Magistracy. This *Appius* took all the prudential Steps imaginable to get himself plac'd at the Top of the Administration ; but he was wanting in his Care

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† Scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentes maxumæ di-  
vitiae, in rempublicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint.

Sal. Ibid.

Care afterwards, to secure and establish himself in that Tyranny. Our *CATILINE* had all the Errors of *Appius* in his Eye, which serv'd him as a Sea-Mark, to shun the Rock on which the Other split.

UPON this Occasion, I think, it is not going out of the Way to make a short Comparison betwixt *APPIUS* and *CATILINE*.

THE Former was so excellent a Dissembler of his Nature, that by caressing the People, by always joining with them against the *Nobility*, he stole into their good Opinions, and was look'd upon as a true Patriot. The *Nobility* were very jealous, and uneasy at the Power of the *Tribunes*, who, as we have observ'd before, were very tenacious of the People's Liberties; and the People, on their Side, inveigh'd as much against the Power of the *Consuls*. *APPIUS* cherished these Discontents for a while, but at length propos'd a Method of reconciling Matters, which was by altering the Constitution, and setting up another Form of Government, which was that of the *Decemviri*.

THIS Scheme both *Nobility* and *People* concurred in; and *Appius*, who was chosen One, soon made himself their Principal. But no sooner was he stept into the Tyrant's Seat, than, as *Livy* tells us, he threw off the Mask of Hypocrisy, *finem fecit ferenda alienæ persona*: He then shew'd the Native Pride of his Heart, and infected all his Companions with his own Vices. He despis'd the Senate, and us'd the People ill. Now began the Populace to think, with Sorrow, on the Loss of their *Tribunes*; and the *Nobility* were not much

much concern'd at this their Affliction, hoping that the Commons, being weary of the Tyranny, would desire to have their Consuls restor'd : *Ut ipsi ratio presentium Consules desiderentur.* Upon which Circumstance Machiavel observes, that tho' the Nobility love to tyrannize, yet They, who have no Share in the Tyranny, always hate the Tyrants.

THE People now perceiving their Error, and the Villany of *Appius*, took from thence an Occasion to seek the Breath of Liberty : The Fear of losing which had brought the Commonwealth into this Misery. †

THINGS being in this Condition, the only Step which *Appius* took to secure himself and his Brother Tyrants, was, by endeavouring to make a Party among the most licentious of the Nobility, by condemning several Persons as Delinquents, and distributing their Estates amongst his Faction. But This was not found sufficient ; for, then it was a Shame to take a Bribe, and the Number that could be corrupted was very small.

WHEN the *Volsicians* and *Sabines*, therefore, made War against the *Romans*, the Tyrants found themselves in great Distress ; for they knew the People would not inrol for the Wars ; and if they call'd the Senate together to take Order about it, they foresaw this might be dangerous to themselves. Out of mere Necessity, however, they

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\* Et inde Libertatis captare auram, unde Servitutem timendo, in eum Statum rempublicam adduxerat. Livy.

they were reduc'd to take the latter Course: And, the Senate being summon'd, began immediately to fall on the Tyrants; and *Valerius* and *Horatius* had the Courage to accuse them of all their Villanies; which had this Effect, that having parted the Tyrants, they threw *Appius* and another into Prison, who there destroy'd themselves, while the Others made their Escape privately from *Rome*: And the Consular Government being restor'd, they soon defeated the Attempts of their Enemies.

W H A T we have to observe upon This, is, the Difference betwixt the Conduct of *Appius* and *Catiline*. For *Catiline* neglected the first Steps taken by *Appius*, to wit, Those of making himself Popular. But the true Reason was, as we may suppose at this Distance, he lay under such invincible Prejudices, that he judg'd it impossible to make himself so. But having got into Office by other Methods, he bent all his Precautions to secure the After-Game; and this he effected, by having a standing Army dispers'd through the Country of the *Romans*, by buying the Friendship of the most powerful Neighbours of the *Roman State*; and not only *That*, but engaging them to send great Forces into the Territories of *Rome*, in Case they should make a Struggle for their Liberties.

HAD *Appius* taken the same Method, his Tyranny must have been establish'd, or, at least, must have lasted much longer. Nor was the Conduct of the *Volsicians* and *Sabines* at all to be esteem'd Politick in this War; who thereby awak'd the Courage of the *Romans*, and hinder'd them from being ruin'd.

H

B U T

B U T the Neighbours of the *Romans*, in the Time of *Catiline*, acted with consummate Wisdom and Policy ; in lying still, and suffering *Catiline* and the Conspirators to do that Work more effectually, than they could have done by Arms : I mean the ruining and enslaving that mighty People. Three times was *Rome* sav'd by the Mis- Conduct of her Enemies, who fell upon her at a Time when she was almost destroy'd by Tyranny and Faction : Wherefore, our *Italian* Politician says, That it is a wrong Course to assail Cities fallen into Discord among themselves : For the Causes of Discord in Commonwealths being *Idle-ness* and *Peace*, and these attended with *Covetous-ness* and *Ambition*, encourage some more bold and wicked than the rest, to attempt *Tyranny*. And in a State, or Commonwealth, where that is designed, you are rather to seek to ruin them by Artifices of Peace : The first Step to which, would be to make Alliances with that State, and, if possible, to have yourself reputed their sure and confident Friend. Thus, when they come to be divided, you are to assist, and abett, as secretly as you can, that Side which attempts the *Tyranny* ; that the People finding themselves in- slav'd, and being glad to embrace any Opportunity of Revenge on their Oppressors, may be easily induc'd to throw themselves under your *Pro-tection*, and so become an *easy Conquest*.

I F this Part be well play'd, as *MACHIA-  
VEL* observes, it seldom fails of having the Success design'd. And it was by this Trick that the *Florentines* ruin'd the City of *Pistoia*, and made themselves Masters of it : They privately fa-  
vour'd

vour'd the Tyrannous Faction, but with so much Secrecy, that the People of that City knew nothing of it, and took the *Florentines* to be their Friends: Wherefore, being tir'd of the Government of their Usurpers, they threw themselves under the Protection of the *Florentines*, who by these Means became Masters of the Place without striking a Blow for it.

TO make an Application of this to our History, it is highly probable, that had the *Gauls* or *Belgians* invaded *Rome* just at the Beginning of *CATILINE*'s Conspiracy, that infamous Senate, which afterwards protected, had been oblig'd to have sacrific'd the *Conspirators*, to induce the People to turn against the common Enemy; and, of Consequence, the Commonwealth would have been sav'd: But these *Barbarians* took a wiser Course in privately abetting the *Conspiracy*, and in accepting Money from the Faction to make Alliances with them. And this was the first Time that ever the *Romans* paid Money to buy the Friendship of their Neighbours.

IT is true, that when they were besieg'd in the *Capitol* by the *Gauls*, being reduc'd by Famine, they came to Terms of Agreement to redeem themselves for a certain Sum of Money: But as soon as *Camillus* arriv'd with an Army to their Relief, he broke the Scales in which the Gold was weighing: Upon which *Titus Livy* makes this memorable Remark, That Fortune brought this to pass, that the *Romans* might not have the Dishonour of owing their Lives to Gold: *ut Romani, auro redempti, non viverent.*

**MACHIAVEL**, I remember, expatiates upon this Subject, and lays it down for a Maxim, that *Commonwealths*, or *Princes*, who are *wise* or *powerful*, never seek by *Money* to make *Alliances* with others, but by the *Reputation* of their *Valour*, or their *Conduct*. ||

\* TO prove this, he appeals to the *Roman Commonwealth* for an Example, who in all the Course of their glorious Actions, never overcame their Enemies, extended their Territories, or purchas'd the mercenary Friendship of their Neighbours, by the Influence of their Money, but the Power of their Arms. † And among other Signs, says this Politician, by which Men may judge of the Power of a Commonwealth, they are to take Notice in what manner it lives with its Neighbouring States. For, when Affairs are so manag'd, that its Neighbours are forc'd to become its *Tributaries*, in order to maintain a Friendship with it, it is a certain Sign that it is *great*, *wise*, and *powerful*: But when such Neighbours, tho' *inferior* in *Power*, draw Money from

|| Le Repubbliche, e gli Principi veramente potenti, non comperano l'amicitia con danari, mà con la virtù, & con la riputatione delle forze. *Macchiau. Discorsi sopra Livio*, l.2. c.30.

\* Dove si vede, che mai acquistarono terre con danari, mai fecero pace con danari, mà sempre con la virtù dell' armi. *Idem ibid.*

† Et tra gli segni per i quali si conosce la potenza d'uno Stato è, vedere, come e' vive con gli vicini suoi; et quando e' li governa in modo, che i vicini (per haverlo amico,) fiano suoi pensionari, alhora è certo segno che quello Stato è potente: mà quando detti vicini (ancora che inferiori a lui) traggono di quello danari, all' hora è segno grande di debolezza di quello. *Idem ibid.*

from it, This is as unanswerable a Proof of its Weakness and Decay.

T H E same Great Statesman brings a fresh Instance from *Florence*, his own Country : But his History there is foreign to our Purpose. Many States in their Decay, 'tis certain, have been forced to pay for the Alliance of their Neighbours : || Neither are the *Florentines*, continues our Author, the only People who have liv'd in this Baseness ; but the *Venetians*, and the King of *France*, who is a Prince of great Dominions, lives tributary to the *Swiss* and to the King of *England*. The Reason whereof is, that he disarms his Subjects ; and that This King, and the States before-mentioned, had rather enjoy a present Profit, to rack and squeeze their People, in order to avoid an imaginary, rather than a real Danger, than to take such Measures, as might give their States Security and lasting Happiness.

*CATILINE*, in like Manner, who knew the Decays of the *Roman State*, and how her Constitution was weaken'd and shatter'd from *SYLLA*'s *Usurpation*, took Care, as we have above hinted, to strengthen his Faction at Home with the Alliances of Neighbouring States. To this End large Sums were paid, and more prodigal Promises

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|| Ne sono in questa viltà vissuti solo i Fiorentini, mà i Vinitiani, et il Re di Francia, il quale, con un tanto regno, vive tributario de Suizzeri, et del Re d'Inghilterra. Il che tutto nasce dà lo havere disarmati i popoli suoi, et havere più tosto voluto quel Re, et gli altri prenominati, godersi un presente Utile, di potere saccheggiare i popoli, et fuggire uno imaginato, più tosto che vero pericolo, che far cose che gli assicurino, et faccino i loro Stati felici in perpetuo.  
*Idem ibid.*

mises sent, to the *Allobroges*, to lend him their Assistance, in Case he should fail of succeeding with the Senate.

But the Precautions of the Wicked do not always answer the End of their Projectors. Providence sometimes interferes with an unseen Hand, and gives a Turn to the most concerted Counsels. Our own Passions are made the Instruments to disappoint our Plots and Cunning. Tho' *CATILINE* now rioted in the Spoils of a ruin'd People, tho' by his Arts he had evaded the Prosecution of an enquiring Senate, tho' he could seem to despise the *Odium* and Reproaches of the Populace, yet he could not so far conquer his Resentments, as quietly to sit down with those sharp and generous Invectives, which *CICERO* made against him in the following Speech.

### *The † Speech of CICERO to CATILINE.*

**H**OW long, pernicious *CATILINE*, wilt thou abuse our Patience? How long will that unbridled Fury mock our Vengeance? Does neither the Place, nor Respect of so many Senators, work upon Thee? Dost thou not see thy Counsels all laid open, all thy dark Plots discover'd to the Senate? Is there a Man in this Assembly ignorant of thy Villanies, if he would freely speak his Conscience? --- His Seal, his Hand,

and

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† Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientiam nostram? quamdiu etiam Furor iste tuus nos eludet? Nihil hic munificissimus habendi Senatus locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt? Patere tua Consilia non sentis? Constrictam jam omnium horum Conscientiam teneri Conjurationem tuam non vides? Tenentur Literae, Signa, Manus, denique unius-

and the Confession of all his Confederates have made it plain. O the deprav'd Manners of a vicious Age! The Consul sees thy Guilt, the Senate knows it all, yet this Man lives;-----not only lies, but comes among us in the Senate, here sits and takes a Part in Publick Councils, looks round upon us, and with his Eyes marks whom he shall destroy. Yet we, good easy Men, think we have satisfied the State, because we have escap'd the Fury of this Man. There was a virtue once in Rome, when honourable Men would have pursued a traitorous Citizen with greater Vengeance than a publick Enemy. The Law is still the same, nor is the Authority of the Senate less: It is we that are wanting to our selves. These twenty days has that Decree lain by, like a sharp Sword within its Scabbord, which ought to cut thee off, proud CATILINE. Yet still thou livest, safe within our Walls, sit'st in our Councils, and art, every Hour, plotting some fatal Mischief to the State.

W H T

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uniuersusque confessio. O tempora! O mores! Senatus hoc intelligit, Consul videt, hic tamen vivit: Vivit? Immò verò etiam in Senatum venit, fit publici Consilii Particeps: notat, & designat oculis ad Cædem unumquemque nostrum. Nos autem, viri fortes, satisfacere Reipublicæ videmur, si istius fuorem ac tela vitemus. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac Republicâ Virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis Civem perniciosum, quam acerbissimum hostem coercent. Habemus enim Senatus-Consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens & grave: Non deest Reipublicæ Consilium, neque Auctoritas hujus Ordinis: Nos, nos, dico, aperte Consules desumus. At nos vigesimum jam diem patimur habescere aciem horum auctoritatis: Habemus enim hujusmodi Senatus-Consultum, veruntamen inclusum in tabulis, tanquam gladium in vaginâ reconditum, quod ex Senatus-Consulto confessim interfectum te esse, Catilina, convenit: Te, intestinam aliquam quotidie perniciem Reipublicæ molestiem.

WHY were not the Seats best empty at thy Entrance, why did not all the Consular Men depart, and leave their Places when thou sarest down among them? Why shun'd they not thee, as they would a Plague, or Ruine? Surely, if my Slaves at Home look'd on me with half that Fear and Horror, with which thy fellow-Citizens regard thee, I should forsake my Houses. Yet thou dost impudently remain among us. Why dost thou not go forth, insulting Man, to voluntary Flight and Banishment? Condemn thy self, and free the Commonwealth, and People, of their Fears. Let Solitude receive thee, for that will fit thee best. Why dost thou stare about? They all consent to it. Their silent Wills condemn thee, tho' thou hast scrap'd the Authority of their Voices. While they sit silent thus, they approve thy Exile; and while they suffer me to mention, they proclaim it.

THIS Harangue so provok'd CATILINE, that without making any Reply he left the Senate and Rome; gathering together some of those Troops, which, as we have above taken notice; he caus'd to be quarter'd in the Italian Towns. With these he made towards the City, desperately resolying to sacrifice Cicero, and every honest Man there: for he had left Cethegus and Lentulus behind within the Walls, with private Orders,

Ientem.—*Servi, mehercè, mei, si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuant omnes Cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: Tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? Egridere ex urbe, Catilina, libera Rempublicam metu: In Exsilium, si hanc vocem expectas, profiscere. Quid est, Catilina? Ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum Silencium? patiuntur: tacent: Quid expectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis. De te, autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant; cum patiuntur, decernunt; cum tacent, clamant. Cic. contrà Catilin:*

